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ABSTRACT

The entries in this annotated bibliography center on the effects of teachers' attitudes and behaviors towards black elementary students in integrated classrooms. The first section cites research on interactions in the classroom: specifically, self-fulfilling teacher expectations and behaviors communicating such expectations. Entries in the second section concern teacher treatment of black students. The third section focuses on a few studies investigating influences on the academic achievement of black students. The fourth section cites research related to ways of changing teachers' negative expectations. A summary, conclusions, and recommendations, as well as a glossary of terms, are included in the paper. (RH)

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TEACHER EXPECTATIONS OF BLACK ELEMENTARY STUDENTS IN INTEGRATED CLASSROOMS

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INTRODUCTION

Desegrating our schools to equalize educational opportunities for all students is one American dream.

> The mere physical movement of youngsters does little to provide or guarantee changes in the quality of education; in the character of racism in American schools; in school achievement patterns; in the interpersonal relations existing among black, brown, and white youngsters; or in the variety of patterns of ethnic plurality. No plan can settle for the mere physical mixing or desegregation of people. Provision must be made for an educational environment encouraging academic and human growth for all students according to their particular talents and needs. (Smith, 1974:120).

What takes place within the classrooms has a great deal to do with the academic gains of students.

Research stated that teachers' expectations for their pupils' achievement can have a self-fulfilling effect (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968; Finn, 1972; Big, 1973). Specifically, students who received positive evaluations from their teachers have greater success than students who received negative evaluations.

In order for these expectations to evoke the appropriate pupil behavior, these expectations must be communicated to students by teachers. Quanity and quality of student/teacher interaction, student physical attractiveness, socioeconomic status (SES) and ethnicity are important factors that were said to cause different teacher expectations and consequently effected student performances (Clifton, 1981).

With the increasing number of classrooms becoming desegregated, it was thus important to understand the manner in which teachers' attitudes and behaviors might vary according to black students' academic progress (Adenika and Berry, 1976; Cornbleth and Korth, 1977; and Stevens, 1980).

The effects of student ethnicity upon teachers' expectations were said to have a bearing on black student achievement and perhaps contributed to the cumulative deficit of these students (Cook, 1978). If teachers' attitudes did cause less learning to take place for black students, then teachers' attitudes should be assessed (Washington, 1982).

BACKGROUND

The idea that expectations could become self-fulfilling did not stem from classroom research. They occurred in everyday life as early as 1890 when workers were told that their output of a particular product was dictated by the number of skills required to produce that product. Later, the same skills were taught to another group of people and no production output was stated. The later group easily surpassed the former workers production output. Self-fulfilling prophecies were also seen in the areas of the healing professions and the behavioral sciences.

It wasn't until 1968 when Rosenthat and Jacobson published Pygmalion in the Classroom that the issue of self-

fulfilling prophecies appeared in the realm of education. The study was open to criticism on methodological grounds that its finding could give little weight (Burstall, 1978). Nevertheless, this study did serve as a catylist to further research on teachers' expectations on pupils' performances.

These studies produced such findings as how expectations were communicated, the variables that cause certain teacher behaviors, the effects on student learning and ways to rid these behaviors so that effective teaching could take place (Burstall, 1978).

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The fact that some teachers may not be effective with all kinds of students has been the explanation of why integrated classrooms do not eliminate the low achievement test scores that black students have compared to their white counterparts. It is what takes place within the classroom that makes the differences in black student successes and failures rather than the mere fact that classrooms are integrated. Teachers are to have the responsibility of narrowing the academic margin between the two races.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The problem studied was the effects of teachers' attitudes and behaviors towards black elementary students in integrated classrooms. Then how these factors can be remedi-

ated to successfully produce academic growth and development in black students.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The study is organized into four parts. The first section of the study will lend itself to the fact that teacher expectations can become self-fulfilling and ways that these behaviors are communicated by teachers to students. The next section will confirm the fact that black students are regarded less favorably. The third section will tell the effects that differencial treatment has on black students. The last section will consist of ways to eliminate the problem.

The annotations are arranged in the following way:

--arguments that refute the topic are presented first within each section,

--where the annotations are related, they are arranged chronologically.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In viewing most literature, may studies were conducted in a laboratory situation rather than classroom settings. Where actual classroom settings were used, the sample was usually very small. No consideration was ever given to the fact that there could be teacher/student cultural differences and to what extent these interactions affected the learning of black children. Also, the fact that a stu-

dent's lack of academic progress is not necessarily a result of negative teacher attitude, but could stem from low inate ability was never given the benefit of the doubt.

GLOSSARY

black schools -- schools having more than 90% black enrollment.

classroom interaction -- reciprocal action in a classroom and its effect on students and teachers.

cultural pluralism -- "a social process that involves the peaceable harmonious living together of peoples with different cultural backgrounds in which differences are permitted within a range consonant with the national welfare," (Calvin 1978:10).

cumulative deficit -- the increase in the number of grade levels behind the normative population a child is in school.

desegregated schools -- when enrollment is less than 90% of one particular racial group.

desegregation -- "the abolishment of the practice of segregating blacks from whites," (Calvin 1978:11).

dominant group -- "that race, religious group, or nationality that has social power - the ability to exploit the service or regulate any source of power -- weapons, property, financial resources, special knowledge, managerial and executive function and eminence derived from myths, legend, and history," (Calvin 1978:12).

ethnicity -- "one's self-identity in relationships with others as pertains to one's affiliation with a certain group.

It is group identity or group personality," (Calvin 1978:17).

ethnography -- "the aspect of cultural and social anthropology devoted to the objective, firsthand description of a particular culture," (Calvin 1978:14).

integration -- "to blend fully the culture and social structure of the incoming group into that of the dominant society; an ideal of American society," (Calvin 1978: 17).

interaction -- "give-and-take discussion and behavior," (Calvin 1978:17).

Likert-type rating -- a scale to measure attitudes where subjects respond to indicate the degree to which they agree or disagree with positive or negative statements.

Matthew effect -- "the ways in which the scientific community determines which members shall be rewarded and which denied," (Burstall 1978:19).

mores -- "behavior patterns that society imposes to protect the citizens. These are society-imposed notions of right and wrong," (Calvin 1978:20).

multicultural education -- "educational programs for a pluralistic society involving every part of the school programs, the interaction of the community within the school, and the extension of the community into the school and of the school into the community," (Calvin 1978:20).

pluralism -- "a state of society in which members of diverse ethnic, racial, religious, or social groups maintain autonomous participation in and development of their culture or special interest within the confines of a common civilization," (Calvin 1978:23).

predominantly black classroom -- classrooms composed of 75% to 95% black students.

prejudice -- "the subjective aspect of group conflict, covering both emotional and cognitive components, wherein a different group than one's own is held to be inferior in some way. Prejudice is internal and does not become apparent until it manifests itself in overt discrimination," (Calvin 1978:23).

racism -- "refers to the belief that race is the basic means for determining one's traits, qualities, and capacities," (Calvin 1978:24).

self-fulfilling prophecies -- "behavior that reflects how one believes one will act or is expected to act," (Calvin 1978:26).

social distance -- "the degree of failure to accept an individual or group on terms of social intimacy," (Good 1973:539).

socialization -- "the process by means of which a person acquires the culture of his society," (Calvin 1978:27).

teacher effectiveness -- "the ability of a teacher to create a meeting and an interaction between the physical,

intellectual, and psychological interests of the student and give some subject-matter content; the ability of a teacher to relate the learning activities to the developmental process of the learners and to their current and immediate interests and needs," (Good 1973:586).

white schools -- schools having more than 90% white enrollment.

Yiddish -- "the daily language of eastern European Jews," (Banks 1979:217).

ANNOTATIONS

INTERACTIONS IN THE CLASSROOM

Self-fulfilling Prophecies

Rosenthal, Robert and Jacobson, Lenore, Pygmalion in the Classroom, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, Inc. New York, 1968, 240 pp.

The authors investigated the direct effect of teachers' expectations on pupils performance. Teachers in an elementary school were given test results that were suppose to predict which students in their classrooms were more than likely to show an academic growth. The children chosen, who had been selected at random, were retested three different times. The authors claimed that the re-test results supported the idea that the teachers' expectations had influenced the children's intellectual development.

Dusek, J.B., and O'Connell, E.J., "Teacher Expectancy Effects on the Achievement Test Performance of Elementary School Children," Journal of Educational Psychology 65:371-377, 1973.

The authors found that teachers' evaluations of their students' academic ability which was formed at the beginning of the school year, were very close to the test scores which were obtained at the end of the school year. The authors stated that teachers based their predictions on their pupils' former scores in previous classes and on their behavior in class during the first few weeks of school. In addition, the authors tried to bias the teachers' predictions by telling them that particular children who were chosen at random would demonstrate unusual gains in math and language art skills during the school year. This attempt to bias teachers' predictions was to no avail.

Morine-Deshimer, Greta, "The Anatomy of Teacher Prediction," Educational Research Quarterly 3:59-66, Winter, 1978-1979.

The author tested the fact that teachers' expectations or predictions of students successes were related to teachers' effectiveness. Morine-Dershimer had teachers make predictions regarding reading achievement on the first day of the school year. The author found that the September predictions were accurate for the students labeled successful, but not for those labeled average or unsuccessful. The November predictions were more accurate than the September predictions and the teachers used only classroom observations to make their predictions. The reading portion of the Metropolitan Achievement tests was used to establish a relationship between teacher prediction of pupil success and actual pupil performance. Scattergraphs were used to compare teacher groupings and contingency coefficients. The author found that teachers were highly optimistic on national norms, but fairly accurate on local norms. Morine-Dershimer stated that local achievement norms were evidently important in the formation of teacher expectations.

Communicated Behaviors

Cornbleth, C.; Davis, O.L.: and Button, Christine, "Expectations for Pupil Achievement and Teacher-Pupil Interaction," Social Education 38:54-58, January, 1974.

The authors indicated that teachers gave low students less response opportunities, there were more interactions with the high students than the low students and high students received more direct questions. The elementary teachers gave increasing amounts of positive and encouraging feedback to high achieving students and the same teachers tended to neglect the low achieving students. These authors believed that behavior patterns shown by teachers are ways by which teachers communicate their expectations of student achievement.

Brophy, J.E., and Good, T.L., "Teachers' Communication of Differential Expectations for Children's Classroom Performance," Journal of Educational Psychology 16:365-74, 1970.

The authors indicated that teachers' expectations are brought about through classroom interactions. Brophy and Good found that teachers demanded better classroom performances from their students for whom they had higher expectations and teachers also praised this performance when it occurred. On the other hand, teachers accepted poorer performances for students for whom they had low expectations, and teachers were less likely to praise the poor students' good efforts when it occurred. The authors stated that there is a relationship between teachers' expectations of student achievement and the teachers' behavior toward a student.

Burstall, Clare, "The Matthew Effect in the Classroom," Educational Research 21:19-25, November, 1978.

The author examined research which suggested that teachers' classroom behavior influenced the attitudes, aspirations and achievements of their pupils. Burstall found that teachers favored students who were dressed in clean clothes that were relatively new and pressed and had less social distance from Anglo-American mores. The author found that teachers consistently gave high achievers significantly more chances to speak in the classroom than low achievers. Burstall also examined research that stated physically attractiveness of students affected teacher perceptions. The severe misbehavior of an unattractive student was seen as chronic antisocial disposition, whereas the same misbehavior was viewed as a temporary prank for the attractive student. The author suggested that teachers be made aware of their potential impact of their attitudes towards children to change classroom behaviors.

Racial Differences Exist

Clifton, Rodney A., "The Effects of Students' Ethnicity and Sex on the Expectations of Teachers," Interchange 12:31-38, 1981-82.

Clifton obtained data from the Carnegie Human Resources Data Bank and found students who spoke Yiddish, German, French or English as their main language at home. The teachers were to rate each students' performance of curricular and extra-curricular duties, cooperation with teachers and students, industry in school work and chance of successfully completing high school. Five variables were used as covariates to help the teachers rate their students such as grade point average, Canadian Academic Aptitude Test scores and both father's and mother's education. The author used classical analysis of varience and held sex constant to calculate the F-ratios on the effects of ethnicity. Clifton found that the Yiddish speaking students were favored. When he analized the covariance, he found that the Yiddish speaking students received more positive scores. The author stated that not only are books, tests, and texts subject to biases, but teachers too may be biased.

Communicated Behaviors Toward Blacks

Hillman, Stephen B., and Davenport, Gregory G., "Teacher-Student Interactions in Desegregated Schools," Journal of Educational Psychology 70:545-554, August, 1978.

Hillman and Davenport found that in main effect analysis, in every case, black students received more criticism from teachers for their behavior, had more self-initiated questions or relevant comments, were the recipients of greater teacher nonacceptance of a student question or response and received more teacher feedback to a student question or response. They also found that there was not a significant difference between black and white teachers' interactions with black and white students. The authors stated that there exists the possibility of a cross-race effect between white teachers and their students, with black students receiving more than their fair share of the interactions.

Washington, Valora, "Teachers in Integrated Classrooms: Profiles of Attitudes, Perceptions, and Behavior," The Elementary School Journal 80:193-201, 1980.

The author wanted to see if there was a link between behavior and attitudes among teachers in integrated classrooms. The author used methodological triangulation and found that black teachers had more favorable attitudes toward school desegregation and social distance and more favorable perceptions of black children. Black and white teachers viewed black children more negatively than positively, although black teachers did view black children more positively. These attitudes and perceptions should have had a negative effect on academic instruction and discipline techniques, but this was not the case. White teachers were more favorable in academic instruction than their black colleagues. Washington explained that white teachers may be compensating for their negative attitudes and black teachers wanted to better prepare the black students for growing up as an Afro-American so they pushed them to excel.

TEACHER TREATMENT OF BLACK STUDENTS

Teachers in Desegregated Classrooms

Adenika, Jean T., and Berry, Gordon L., "Teachers' Attitudes Toward the Education of the Black Child," Education 97:102-114, Winter, 1976.

Adenika and Berry assessed the positive and negative educational, psychological, and sociological attitudes held by teachers in classrooms with black students. They also identified demographic factors which produced these attitudes toward black students. The authors theorized that attitudes are preconditions for overt behavior. The more positive the attitude held by a teacher toward the black student, the more likely the teacher was to be sensitive to the needs and values of the black students they serve.

Cornbleth, Catherine, and Korth, Willard, "Teacher Perceptions and Teacher-Student Interaction in Integrated Classrooms," Journal of Experimental Education 46:259-263, April, 1977.

Cornbleth and Korth found that teachers perceived black and white pupils differently. White students were perceived favorably in potential achievement, classroom behavior and personal characteristics. This differentiation on a number of dimensions could have relevance for classroom process and student learning. Any given student behavior was interpreted differently depending on the student's race. The authors suggested that pre-and-inservice teachers have assistance in identifying and modifying potentially discriminatory attitudes.

Stevens, Gwendolyn, "Bias in Attributions of Positive and Negative Behavior in Children by School Psychologists, Parents, and Teachers," Perceptual and Motor Skills 50:1283-1290, 1980.

This author found that 27 elementary teachers mostly Anglo-American, women and middle socio-economic status using a Likert-type rating scale scored children more on ethnicity than what they actually observed. There were three 3-minute films with six children in a staged classroom working on a reading assignment. Each film portrayed an Anglo, Mexican and Afro-American boy engaging in the same undesirable behavior. Stevens stated that if the assessors were attending to the behavior of the child and not his ethnicity, no differences in ratings should have been found. The author also found that teachers expected black children to exhibit negative behaviors and these expectations influenced their ratings in this situation.

Teacher Differences by Race

Griffith, Albert R., and London, Clement, B. G., "Students' Relations Among Inner City Teachers: A Comparative Study by Teacher Race," Education 101:138-149, December, 1980.

The authors used a Likert-type questionnaire to examine the attitudes and beliefs of inner city teachers toward black students. The authors also wanted to examine the behaviors of inner city teachers toward black children by teacher race. The authors found that black and white teachers perceived their students as having average or above average ability, but black teachers were more likely optimistic than white teachers to see their students as having average ability and less pessimistic about their students as having fair or poor ability. Griffith and London indicated that neither black nor white teachers had much contact time outside of the normal school day with the black student. Neither black nor white teachers made a high number of home visits, however, black teachers made more home visits than white teachers. Finally, both black and white teachers saw themselves as being different from their students in the inner city when they were growing up.

Rabinow,, Kathryn L. W., and Cooper, James M., "School's Racial Mix Can Affect Teacher Attitudes," Phi Delta Kappan 62:745-746, June, 1981.

The authors found that white teachers teaching in white schools had a significantly more positive view of their teaching effectiveness and of their students' attitudes than did white teachers teaching in black or desegregated schools. Black teachers teaching in black schools did not differ significantly on these same issues from black teachers in desegregated or white schools. The authors also surveyed and found that both races believed that black schools presented more obstacles to effective teaching than desegregated or white schools. However, black teachers did not find the obstacles as serious an impediment to effective teaching as did white teachers. The authors reported that teachers who were a racial majority at their schools had more personal satisfaction from teaching and felt the best trained to teach children from that ethnicity. The authors stated that the converse was also true.

Beady, C. H., and Hansell, S., "Teacher Race and Expectations for Student Achievement," American Educational Research Journal 18:191-201, Summer, 1981.

The authors' data found that black and white teachers showed no difference in perceptions of the ability and effort of their black elementary school students, nor were there any significant differences of the expected success of black students in high school. Beady and Hansell also investigated the expectations for future success of black elementary students in college and found that black teachers expected their students to be more successful in college than white teachers. The authors stated that race may not be a factor in determining teacher perceptions of their students' present abilities and efforts in black elementary schools.

Washington, Valora, "Racial Differences in Teacher Perceptions of First and Fourth Grade Pupils on Selected Characteristics," The Journal of Negro Education 51:60-72, Winter, 1982.

Washington found that both black and white teachers viewed black children more negatively than white children. The author stated that teachers' perceptions are designated to their pupils' positive and negative characteristics. She also stated that teachers' perceptions of the learner are related to the student' race as well as the teacher's race in naturally existing desegregated classroom situations.

EFFECTS ON BLACK STUDENT LEARNING

Positive Effects

Burton, Nancy W., and Jones, Lyle V., "Recent Trends in Achievement Levels of Black and White Youth," Educational Researcher 11:10-14, April, 1982.

The authors viewed several indicators of the educational achievement of black and white youths. They found that the differences between black and white students were decreasing, not only in levels of participation in education, but also in measures of outcome in a variety of learning areas. The authors stated that when achievement for white students had declined, that for black students had declined less and that when whites have improved, blacks have improved more. The differences between races had decreased in mathematics, science, reading, writing and social studies. They cited that programs that fostered equal educational opportunities contributed to the reduction in white-black achievement differences.

Negative Effects

Cook, Runnett H., Classroom Interaction Based on Teacher Ethnicity and Experience, Educational Resources Information Center, ED 199 364, Ph. D Dissertation, Walden University, Naples, Florida, December, 1978.

Cook wanted to see if teachers' attitudes contributed to black student cumulative deficit. He compared the attitudes of black and white teachers as they taught black students. Cook found that white teachers were able to motivate black students and black teachers showed black pupils more empathy and were able to help them achieve more academically. His findings also revealed that black and white teachers teaching in predominately black classrooms differed in their attitudes toward important aspects of teacher qualities and teacher effectiveness. The author stated that personalities of teachers were one aspect of relating to black students and that some teachers may not be effective with all kinds of students.

Gay, Geneva, "Teacher Prejudice as a Mediating Factor in Student Growth and Development," Viewpoint Teach and Learn 55:94-106, Spring, 1979.

The author investigated how being prejudiced affects teachers' functioning in the instructional process, and in turn the educational experiences of their students. Gay stated that prejudices mediate student growth and development in at least five other areas besides the instructional process. These are: motivation, interpersonal relations, curriculum content, psychological well-being and self concepts of students. The author believed that in a real sense prejudices determinded the nature and quality of educational experiences and opportunities students received in classroom instruction.

Robinson, Sharon P.; Robinson, Andrew; and Bickel, Frank, "Desegregation: A Bibliographic Review of Teacher Attitudes and Black Students," The Negro Education Review 31:48-59, April, 1980.

The authors stated that pre-existing attitudes regarding desegregation that teachers bring to school can have significant impact on the climate that is ultimately established within the classroom. These attitudes if viewed negatively by black pupils, may impede the accomplishment of specific learning tasks, activities and goals. The authors indicated that factors determining the success of the teacher included the abilities to curtail personal prejudices, understand and accept cultural differences and express a sensitivity toward the needs of all students.

WAYS TO ELIMINATE TEACHER DIFFERENCES

Administrators' Responsibilities

Hentoff, Nat, "Profiles (Kenneth Clark)," The New Yorker 37-73, August, 1982.

The author interviewed Dr. Kenneth Clark and found that the administrative levels of education had more power to control what took place in a classroom that a teacher. He stated that the New York State Board of Regents never published test scores that revealed how significantly below average ghetto areas were below the norm. He indicated that this board had the power to research why these differences occurred and should have established programs that would educate teachers on how to lessen the gap between ghetto students and the norm in reading and mathematics. The author believed that administrators were more at fault for the cumulative deficit of ghetto children than the teachers who were actually in the classrooms.

Washington, Valora, "Implementing Multicultural Education: Elementary Teachers' Attitudes and Professional Practices," Peabody Journal of Education 59:190-200, April, 1982.

Washington surveyed teachers in the North Carolina area to determine their attitudes toward multiethnic schooling, their access to multicultural materials and methods, and their degree of utilization of multicultural materials and methods. The author found that teachers' desegregation attitudes were relatively neutral or slightly positive. Less than 33% of the teachers had access to a handbook of ideas, approaches, and materials; about 50% had inservice training in multicultural education concerns. 75% of the teachers did not utilize multicultural materials and methods. Washington stated that administrators should evaluate what is occurring in multicultural classrooms to establish programs for teachers if needed.

Teacher Related

Gay, Geneva, "Multicultural Preparation and Teacher Effectiveness in Desegregated Schools," Theory Into Practice 17:149-156, April, 1978.

The author stated that teacher preparation is critical to the effectiveness of desegregation. Gay suggested that teachers need to be aware of their racial attitudes and instructional behaviors toward culturally different students to see if their interracial behaviors need to be changed. Gay stated that acquiring a knowledge and appreciation for cultural and ethnic diversity is a prerequisite to teacher instruction effectiveness. Gay indicated that pluralistic classroom climates should be created as a viable source of personal growth and enrichment. Finally Gay suggested that teachers modify their instructional behaviors and curriculum content so that they perpetrate ethnic and cultural diversity. Gay believed that teachers' readiness for desegregation would maximize student growth (see Appendix A).

Slavin, Robert E., "Integrating the Desegregated Classroom: Actions Speak Louder than Words," Educational Leadership 36:322-324, February, 1979.

The author proported that teacher workshops, minority history, multiethnic texts, biracial student advisory committees and similar school programs made little differences in racial attitudes. Slavin also found that human relations programs did little for student race relations. The author suggested that teachers provide opportunities for interracial cooperative contact. Slavin stated that students who had contact with another race had more positive interracial attitudes than other students who did not have contact with other races. The author maintained that friends are made in small, cooperative groups, not large and faceless ones. He also believed that when teachers provided situations for interaction in small groups then our desegregated schools would help to achieve a harmonious integrated society.

Dworkin, Nancy E., "Changing Teachers' Negative Expectations," Academic Therapy 14:517-531, May, 1979.

Dworkin examined the changes that occurred when teachers were satisfied with the results of a student who is successful in education. The author measured the teacher's satisfaction as it stemmed from the views of the child. Dworkin found that changing a negative attitude to a positive one would even out the concern for all students in a classroom and would begin to lead to a diminuation in negative labeling. Dworkin suggested that teachers build a communication framework with other personnel who work with unsuccessful students and allow teachers to develop strategies that would be successful for the child. The author also believed that to establish positive satisfaction levels would require advocacy on the part of the teacher through his/her own observations and priorities.

Koogler, Carol C., "Behavioral Style Differences and Crisis in an Integrated Kindergarten Classroom," Contemporary Education 51:126-120, Spring, 1980.

The author provided educators with enthrographic material which was related to a crisis and harmony in the classroom setting. The suburban elementary school teacher presented two musical activities to the kindergarten children in an integrated classroom. The first event, the teacher did not allow for reciprocal sharing to take place--the teacher stayed with the objective. This interferred with the cultural pluralism process and caused choas in the classroom. The second event, which allowed for a variance of kinesic patterns to be shared by both ethnic groups and a teacher allowing these different styles to be shared did not impede reciprocal sharing. Koogler stated that children are aware of differences in the classroom, but they respond with attempts to work them out when teachers allow for full participation on the part of all class members.

"Suggestions for Developing Positive Racial Attitudes," Interracial Books for Children Bulletin 11:10-15, 1980.

The article stated that a healthy racial/cultural identity, plus skills to aid in recognizing and combatting racism, are essential to all children's self-esteem and the ability to function productively in our society. The article indicated that fostering growth in this direction is a major teacher responsibility. The teachers also need to be able to respond to children's concerns and to initiate activities and discussions in the classroom. The article said that race is a social concept, not a scientific term. It offered ten suggestions for combatting and recognizing racism (see appendices B and C).

Harvey, Mary R., "Public School Treatment of Low-Income Children," Urban Education 15:279-323, October, 1980.

Harvey found that low-income classrooms emphasized basic skills development, teachers used more criticism, and teachers gave positive feedback for inappropriate behavior and negative feedback for appropriate behavior whereas high-income classrooms participated in creative and exploratory activities, teachers used more praise and teachers gave positive feedback for appropriate behavior and negative feedback for inappropriate behavior. The author stated that the reform of low-income schools must go beyond structural improvements. They should educate teachers to the knowledge, theory, and skill which will help them perceive and creatively plan for the academic, social, and emotional strengths of low-income pupils.

SUMMARY

According to Hillman and Davenport, teachers communicated their behaviors toward black students by giving them more negative criticisms and greater teacher nonacceptance. Washington proported that teachers viewed black children more negatively than positively and these attitudes were communicated by teacher academic instructions and discipline techniques. Adenika and Berry assessed that the more positive a teacher was, the more likely the teacher was to be sensitive to black student needs.

Cornbleth and Korth asserted that white students were perceived favorably in academic success, classroom behavior and personal characteristics in comparison to black students. Stevens indicated that teachers attended more to student race than actual observable behavior.

In teacher differences by race, Griffith and London contended that black teachers were more optimistic and less pessimistic than white teachers about their students' academic abilities. Rabinow and Cooper claimed that black and white teachers confirmed that black schools had more obstacles than white schools, but this did not effect black teachers as much as white teachers. Beady and Hansell reported that the only difference black and white teachers held on black student expectations was on the success of the student in college. Black teachers expected black students to be more successful

than white teachers.

Concerning the effects on learning when teachers had biased attitudes towards black students, authors Cook, Geneva, Robinson and others said that teachers inhibited student growth and development academically as well as psychologically. Burton and Jones argued that the achievement differences between black and white students were decreasing.

Washington and Hentoff claimed that administrators need to take an active role in making sure that academic growth and development for black students is taking place and making sure that teachers' attitudes are not stifling academic progress.

Gay, Koogler and Dworkin insisted that the assessment levels of teachers' negative attitudes should be evaluated so that the appropriate programs and other services can be made available to extinguish these attitudes. Slavin and Harvey asserted that teachers should provide situations where students of different races have a lot of interaction.

CONCLUSIONS

Teacher behaviors toward black students are communicated through academic instructions and disciplinary techniques. During this time, teachers were guilty of giving black students several more negative criticisms and not accepting their behavior in the classroom. It was for these reasons that black students were viewed less favorably. However, the more positive a teacher was toward black students, the more likely the teacher was to be sensitive to the black student's needs.

Black and white teachers had about the same contentions about the academic ability levels of black students. That was they believed that black students would perform well in elementary and high school settings. Both teacher groups believed that black schools had more obstacles than either desegregated or white schools. However, in each of these contentions, black teachers tended to be slightly more positive than their white colleagues. In the area of future success of black students in college, black teachers were considerably more optimistic than white teachers.

Black student growth and development was impeded because of teachers' behaviors in the integrated classroom. Some research did indicate that the gap between achievement test scores was decreasing between the two race groups.

It was the belief of some researchers that adminis-

trators should monitor teachers' classrooms to see what is actually taking place within the classroom as well as the students in the classrooms to see if the proper amount of student growth and development is brought out by the classroom teacher. Teachers on the other hand, should assess their attitudes toward black students to make sure that their attitudes would not project negative behaviors. Both teachers and administrators should provide many opportunities for interactions between students of different races.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that:

1. Before an integration program is about to be implemented, practicum experiences in multicultural education and human relations that include white, black and desegregated schools should take place.
2. Within the classroom, teachers should be given feedback and aid to insure that black student growth and development are progressing especially if teachers are crossing racial and SES boundaries.
3. The students should be given frequent opportunities to interact and share their cultures with people of other races and SES backgrounds.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Assessment of Teacher Attitudes

You should respond with 1-5 and one being agree; five being stongly disagree.

Educational

1. Teachers should accept different standards of behavior for non-anglo students and anglo students.
2. Lower class minority parents are not concerned with their child's achievements or failures in school.
3. Minority students from lower SES should be guided into vocational training.

Psychological

1. Using physical aggression to solve problems is a trait of some minority groups.
2. The primary reason some minority groups have not made progress is that they have not worked hard enough.
3. All minority groups should adopt the traits of the dominant group in the American society.

Sociological

1. Close friendships between anglo and other minorities is possible.
2. The racial situation today is better than it was three years ago.
3. We should work slowly toward bringing about racial changes.

APPENDIX B

Suggestions for Developing Positive Racial Attitudes

1. Initiate activities and discussions to build a positive racial/cultural self-identity.

2. Initiate activities and discussions to develop positive attitudes toward marical/cultural groups different from the child.

3. When the child asks questions about race, always answer when the questions are asked.

4. Listen carefully--in a manner that seems relaxed--to children's questions and comments and make sure you know what the child means and wants to know.

5. Pay attention to feelings.

6. Provide truthful explanations appropriate to the child's level of understanding.

7. Help children explore their own ideas, giving them support for their efforts.

8. Help children recognize racial stereotypes.

9. Encourage children to challenge racism by your own example and by giving them skills appropriate to their age level.

10. Cultivate the understanding that racism does not have to be a permanent condition--that people are working together to create change.

APPENDIX C

Resources for Parents, Teachers, Librarians

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RESUME

Name: Shirley McConnell

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Rationale: At my present job, I am the only black staff member. The elementary school is sparcely desegregated. All, literally all, staff members have a positive attitude toward the black children whom they teach and in other situations. However, in several classes that I have had here at Indiana University at South Bend, I have heard, through feedback of classmates and in group discussions, things to make me believe that the contrary is true. I am interested in seeing if teachers who teach black children have negative feelings toward the black student and how does this effect black student academic progress.